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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

MESSAGES RECEIVED ON THE OCCASION OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY
OF SOLIDARITY WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS(Issued in accordance with a decision taken by the Special
Committee at its 661st meeting, on 12 October 1992)

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ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Message from the Government of Antigua and Barbuda

[Original: English]

The observance of this year's International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners has particular importance. Recent published news reports alleging wide-scale torture and death of suspects in the custody of the South African police underscore the renewed sense of urgency to the international community's long-standing call for the immediate release of all political prisoners by the apartheid regime of South Africa. Such a step would go a long way towards improving the political climate in South Africa.

As South Africa proceeds in fits and starts towards full-fledged, non-racial democratization, with the stalled second series of negotiations for a Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA II) about to be resumed, the international community is increasingly dismayed at the reluctance of the apartheid regime of South Africa to honour its commitment to release all political prisoners. The release of 150 on or about 26 September 1992 still does not satisfy the call for a full release.

In the international community, we remain firm in our conviction that if the apartheid regime of South Africa is sincere in its desire to rejoin our community of nations, it must act immediately to head off the dangers that could disrupt the ongoing process of a democratic transformation of the country. By releasing immediately all its political prisoners, one danger could be avoided. Until then, the international community will continue to regard sanctions against the apartheid regime of South Africa as necessary, and only the demise of apartheid can alter its status as an international pariah.

BURKINA FASO

Message from Mr. Blaise Compaoré, President of Burkina Faso
and President of the Council of Ministers

[Original: French]

The proclamation by the United Nations of an International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners is evidence of the importance which the international community attaches to the liberation struggle carried on for several decades by South Africa's brave sons.

The observance of this day, on 12 October 1992, affords us an opportunity to focus in particular on the fate of our South African brothers, who have been imprisoned for having dared to fight to free their people from inhuman and barbaric repression at the hands of the racist regime in Pretoria.

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This struggle has a long history. In 1948, when the question of apartheid was already on its agenda, the United Nations called upon the South African Government to adhere to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations by dismantling its abhorrent political system.

Since July 1964, when their first Conference was held at Cairo, the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity have called for the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Mangaliso Sobukwe and all the other nationalists imprisoned or detained under South Africa's arbitrary laws.

Until recently, the numerous appeals on behalf of South African political prisoners were not favourably received.

The release of Nelson Mandela and some of his comrades-in-arms became a reality only because of the economic and political pressure which the international community brought to bear. We can take pleasure in that.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that several hundred men and women are still languishing in the jails of apartheid's henchmen. It is even to be feared that this number may increase if the pressure on the South African regime should slacken.

Accordingly, I take this opportunity to reaffirm our conviction as to the absolute necessity of maintaining and strengthening the economic and political sanctions against Pretoria until this repugnant system has been completely eradicated.

Lastly, I should like, on behalf of the people and Government of Burkina Faso and on my own behalf, to express support for the efforts of the Special Committee against Apartheid, and to assure the Committee of my unfailing readiness to work for the immediate and unconditional release of South African political prisoners.

CHILE

Message from Mr. Enrique Silva Cimma, Minister for
Foreign Affairs of Chile

[Original: Spanish]

On the occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, I reaffirm the commitment of the Government and people of Chile to all causes whose objective is to dignify the human being.

As a basic principle of its foreign policy, Chile has upheld the rejection of all forms of discrimination and racial segregation and, in general, all legal and political systems which endeavour to restrict the opportunities and inherent rights of human beings for reasons of race, creed or colour.

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My country fervently hopes that the imminent end of apartheid will be achieved through peaceful negotiations, leading to the establishment of a non-racial democracy, without discrimination of any kind and based on respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

CUBA

Message from Mr. Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada, Minister for
Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba

[Original: Spanish]

This year, the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners has a special significance since, in addition to the increase in racist violence in that country, for which the White minority Government is solely responsible, the South African authorities are now manoeuvring, under the cover of releasing political prisoners, to absolve the South African military and police of capital crimes, torture and abuse, through a general amnesty which would, in effect, place them above the law.

The international community must resolutely oppose such manoeuvres by the racist regime and demand that only those who are held political prisoners in South Africa because of their participation in the struggle against the apartheid system should be amnestied.

Cuba reaffirms its desire to support the release of genuine political prisoners held in South African jails, as one of the steps leading to the total dismantlement of apartheid in South Africa, a process which should include the formation of an interim, non-racial and democratic government and the final return of all political exiles.

At such a crucial time for the destiny of the Black people of South Africa, my Government reaffirms its decision to continue to support all efforts made by the United Nations to press the South African regime to release the remaining political prisoners held in its jails.

CYPRUS

Message from Mr. George Iacovou, Minister for Foreign
Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, we would like to pay tribute to the important role played by those who have been committed to liberty and social justice in South

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Africa, and particularly those men and women who have suffered as political prisoners for their views.

Their heroism, their dedication to the cause of freedom and justice and their firm determination to see the eradication of the inhuman and unjust system of apartheid has been a source of inspiration for oppressed people all over the world.

In the short time since Nelson Mandela was released, a dialogue about change and about the future of South Africa has been developing between the South African Government and the other parties concerned. This should lead as a matter of urgency to specific steps towards a non-racial, democratic and unified country based on the universal observance of human rights.

The struggle to reach this moment of opportunity has been a long and tortuous one but we are confident that whatever the temporary setbacks, all sides realize that there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement which will promise a peaceful future to all South Africans.

Cyprus holds to its view that the freeing of all political prisoners is an essential component in the process aimed at the complete dismantlement of the apartheid system.

A new birth of hope for South Africa would be in keeping with other positive changes in international society in recent years and would be an inspiration to all men and women engaged in the struggle for justice.

FINLAND

Message from the Government of Finland (on behalf of the Nordic countries)

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Nordic countries wish to welcome the recent agreement between the South African Government and the African National Congress (ANC) on the release of remaining political prisoners. It is our hope that this agreement will solve all outstanding issues related to political prisoners in South Africa. This agreement also makes it possible to resume constitutional negotiations on a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Even though certain South African groups are still unwilling to join these negotiations, the Nordic countries consider it of utmost importance that the constitutional negotiations be continued and brought to an early and successful conclusion.

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Any further delay in the peaceful process to create a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa will only add more fuel to an already volatile situation in parts of South Africa and further strain the patience of all those South Africans who have been disenfranchised for so long.

GUINEA

Message from General Lansana Conte, President of the
Republic of Guinea

[Original: French]

On behalf of the people and Government of Guinea, it is my duty to express our complete solidarity with the South African population groups struggling against the shameful system of apartheid. The recent events in the Ciskei have once again demonstrated the omnipresence of the policy of apartheid and all its degrading practices, ranging from arbitrary detention to the massacre of innocent civilians. Our country therefore adds its voice to those of all the peace- and justice-loving nations to demand of the South African Government the unconditional release of all political prisoners, the abolition of all discriminatory laws on education, health, bantustans and housing, and to insist that it should put a halt to the escalation of violence. While welcoming the dispatch of observers by the United Nations, which will make it possible to strengthen the structures established by the Peace Agreement, we urge the international community to do its utmost to contribute to a resumption of negotiations with a view to the elaboration of a new constitutional order for a new South Africa.

INDIA

Message from Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, Minister of State
for External Affairs of India

[Original: English]

The international community is observing this year once again the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. The Government and the people of India enthusiastically join other nations in reiterating their firm support to the people of South Africa in their struggle to bring into being a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Many significant developments have taken place in South Africa over the last year. Some of them, such as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, led to optimism amongst the international community that the people of South Africa would soon be able to achieve their cherished objective. The Boipatong massacre and Ciskei carnage, however, interrupted the process of negotiations initiated by the President of South Africa, Mr. F. W. de Klerk and the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

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India pays tribute to those brave men and women of South Africa who sacrificed their lives in their struggle to secure a better future for the people of their nation. It is our hope that negotiations will now resume in earnest and that they will be carried forward to their logical conclusion. This is once again an occasion for the international community to show its solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle to bring about a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

IRAN (ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF)

Message from Mr. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, President of
the Islamic Republic of Iran

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, I express the full support of the people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for the elimination of apartheid and the inequalities in South Africa. I call on the peoples and the Governments of the world to exert pressure unwaveringly on the apartheid regime unconditionally to release all political prisoners.

Recent massacres at Ciskei and Boipatong prove that despite the general changes and reforms - which have been given vast publicity and propaganda - there is a long and difficult way ahead before the effects and remains of inhuman apartheid thought are completely eliminated.

Inspired by the sublime teachings of Islam, the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, closely following the developments in the region, decisively supports the undeniable political, economic, social, cultural and legal rights of the people of South Africa, and believes that attaining such rights and objectives is possible only through continued struggle and international support.

I hope that international efforts will speed up the attainment by the people of South Africa of their inalienable rights and completely eradicate the remaining inequalities and discrimination from that land.

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

Message from Mr. Muhammed al-Bishari, Secretary of the
People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign
Liaison and International Cooperation

[Original: Arabic]

The policy of apartheid long practised by the South African regime has been in the forefront of the concerns of the United Nations, which has adopted

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numerous resolutions urging a swift end to that policy. Our observance of this anniversary today is a renewal once again of the commitment of the international community to stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of South Africa in their struggle to extirpate the apartheid regime and to replace it with a democratic and non-racist society in which complete freedom and equality reign.

The sixteenth anniversary of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners comes at a time when the region has witnessed successive developments leading to the abolition of a number of the mainstays of the apartheid regime, as well as to the release of some political prisoners and the return of many deportees. These developments have been welcomed. However, no one can disregard the fact that a large number of political prisoners remain in the prisons of the South African regime, suffering under its racist practices. Their suffering is increased by the obstacles created by the racist regime in order to thwart efforts to put a halt to its odious practices. Among such obstacles is the outbreak and explosive escalation of violence which threatens the process aimed at the swift elimination of the apartheid regime and dashes hopes for the release of those who suffer in its prisons and detention centres.

In its Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, which was adopted by consensus, the international community undertook to bring a speedy end to racist practices and to establish a united, democratic South Africa free from all discrimination. At this point in the struggle of the South African people to achieve that aim, it behoves the international community to continue to exert pressure on the South African regime in order to induce it to put a stop to acts of violence, to release the remaining political prisoners and to respect the will of the majority and the will of the international community and the relevant United Nations resolutions which call for the establishment of a democratic and non-racist South Africa. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya joins the international community in observing the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners and reaffirms its determination to continue its support for the struggle of the South African people until a complete end is put to the apartheid regime, which is still exerting desperate efforts to hide under new guises and has not shown any real readiness willingly to abandon its racist practices.

MALAYSIA

Message from Mr. Mahathir bin Mohamed,
Prime Minister of Malaysia

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, I wish to reaffirm Malaysia's solidarity with those heroic South Africans who are still being held in prison for their struggle to secure recognition of their civil, political and social rights.

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It is ironic and frustrating that after 16 years of the annual observance of this day, many political prisoners still languish in prisons in South Africa. We welcome the release of political prisoners by the South African Administration, including the recent release of 150 of them in September, but many more are reported to be still held in South Africa. We call upon the South African Administration to honour their commitment to release unconditionally all remaining political prisoners in line with the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1989, and to grant indemnities for political offences in the struggle against apartheid to the people inside and outside South Africa.

While Malaysia welcomes the changes that have taken place towards the dismantling of the system of apartheid, we are concerned at the increasing spate of violence in South Africa which has led to bloodshed and the loss of lives. These incidents have also eroded the confidence generated on the basis of the progress achieved under the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and put the negotiations in jeopardy. The South African Administration must take urgent and appropriate actions to bring an immediate end to the violence and work earnestly for the resumption of constitutional negotiations. We wish to call upon all parties concerned to contribute to the establishment of a climate free of violence so as to allow the resumption of the CODESA negotiation process leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa. In this regard, we are hopeful that the negotiations will resume soon.

Today, it remains our obligation to extend wholehearted support to the South African political prisoners who have been unjustly imprisoned for demanding the right of self-determination and majority rule. It is imperative that we remain firm in our resolve to maintain international pressure against South Africa until the system of apartheid and its legacies are removed.

Finally, Malaysia avails itself of this occasion to express its profound gratitude to the Special Committee against Apartheid for its tireless efforts and steadfast commitment to the goal of dismantling apartheid. We reiterate our unswerving support and full cooperation to the Committee in pursuit of this objective.

NIGERIA

Message from General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President
of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

[Original: English]

On my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I send these warm greetings to your Committee for holding once again the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

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Your Committee has, over the years, worked very hard to keep the entire question of apartheid South Africa in the international limelight. This should remain so until South Africa becomes a truly non-racial and democratic society. We salute the heroic struggles of the opponents of apartheid. We salute the South African men and women, in particular, for their courage and the sacrifices they have made for the good and lasting freedom of their country.

As your Committee marks this year's observance of the International Day of Solidarity, a few hundred political prisoners still languish in various jails in South Africa. We welcome the recent agreements reached between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress for the release of all remaining political prisoners no later than 15 November 1992. We urge the Government of South Africa to abide by this agreement so that the dark chapter in South African history may be permanently closed to enable a true spirit of reconciliation to prevail in that country.

Once again, the Government and people of Nigeria wish you God's guidance and best wishes in the discharge of your mandate at this critical stage in South Africa's history.

PAKISTAN

Message from Mr. Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister
of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Government and the people of Pakistan join the international community in expressing their complete solidarity with the valiant freedom fighters still languishing in South African prisons. In this era of enlarged freedom and democracy it is a matter of profound regret that many of our South African brothers are still incarcerated because of their political beliefs. It is their personal sacrifice which has always been a beacon of hope in the long struggle of the South African people for political pluralism, equality and self-respect. It is their sacrifice which has made possible the limited progress towards dismantling apartheid. Pakistan hopes that this progress will be rapid and conclusive. Therefore, we welcome the summit meeting between Mr. Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk on 26 September 1992, and particularly the commitment made by the South African Government to release 150 prisoners immediately and 400 more by November 1992. The recent visit of Mr. Mandela to Pakistan provided us with the opportunity to reaffirm Pakistan's full support to the struggle of the South African people for a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa. We admire Mr. Mandela for the sagacity and courage with which he has led the fight against apartheid and have assured him of our full support and solidarity in the final phase of his long and heroic stand to eliminate

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apartheid. We will support the international community's endeavour to exert continued pressure on South Africa until the establishment of majority rule in the country.

PERU

Message from Mr. Oscar de la Puente Raygada, Minister for
Foreign Affairs of Peru

[Original: Spanish]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African political prisoners, the Government and people of Peru renew their support for the process of the final eradication of the odious system of apartheid, affirm their solidarity with the cause of the South African people in building a just and democratic society for future generations, and follow closely and with hope the political course towards national reconciliation.

PHILIPPINES

Message from Mr. Fidel V. Ramos, President of the Republic
of the Philippines

[Original: English]

The Philippines is heartened by the result of the recent summit meeting between the President of the African National Congress, Mr. Nelson Mandela, and South African President Mr. F. W. de Klerk. We laud their combined efforts to remove the obstacles standing in the way of the resumption of negotiations on the future of South Africa. We welcome the South African Government's decision to release all remaining political prisoners by mid-November. We share in the joy of the families of those political prisoners recently freed and await the others who will soon be free. We look forward to the day when there will be no more political prisoners in South Africa and no more reason to mark the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners.

The South African political prisoners have paid too steep a price to eradicate the inhumane system of apartheid. The long, difficult and lonely years behind bars have robbed them not only of their freedom, but also of their youth, health and years with their loved ones. What is profoundly sad is the knowledge that apartheid should never have been. No one should have had to suffer oppression and be denied his dignity and rights simply because of the colour of his skin. The painful legacies of apartheid - the injustice, the mistrust, the poverty, the violence - are harder to tear down than all the pillars of apartheid.

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This occasion must stand as a solemn reminder that political prisoners have no place in a democratic society. As the political parties in South Africa prepare to return to the negotiating table, the members of the international community must help ensure that the sacrifices of the South African political prisoners will not be in vain. The historic negotiations on the future of South Africa must bear fruit - South Africa's transformation into a united, non-racial and democratic society.

SENEGAL

Message from Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic
of Senegal

[Original: French]

The observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners is especially significant and important because it coincides with the anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly, on 11 October 1963, of the resolution calling on the South African regime to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned or interned for having opposed the policy of apartheid. It therefore gives me an opportunity to affirm, on behalf of the Senegalese people and on my own behalf, our full solidarity with the sons and daughters of South Africa who have been deprived of their freedom for having had the courage and determination to say no to apartheid.

Senegal, a country which is deeply attached to peace and respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals, ardently hopes that the distressing problem of political prisoners, which is one of the main stumbling-blocks in the negotiations that are currently under way in South Africa, will be rapidly resolved so that the South African people may regain their freedom and human dignity in calm and security.

The segregationist and discriminatory policy in South Africa, which is the main cause of the violence that is rife there, has lasted too long. It is therefore up to the international community to continue to put pressure on the South African Government so as to induce it to discharge fully its responsibilities to ensure the safety of all South Africans.

The South African authorities must come to the realization that the only course to follow is one which will restore trust and create an atmosphere favourable to the resumption of negotiations under the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and to the abolition of the system of apartheid.

In this context, we welcome the agreement of the African National Congress (ANC) to resume the dialogue with the South African regime, as well as the release of certain political prisoners and the adoption of other encouraging decisions to reduce tension.

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At the same time, we must take care not to jeopardize the great hopes raised by the recent meeting between President de Klerk and President Mandela, and above all to ensure these talks lead to the results awaited by the international community, namely lasting peace and the rapid advent of a free, equal, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

This is the outcome which the people and Government of Senegal and I myself ardently desire for South Africa so that the people of that country, already crushed by an infernal cycle of violence and injustice, can at last make use of their immense potential for the benefit of the economic and social development of their great nation. May these wishes, which are widely shared by the international community, come to fruition so that finally this sad page in the history of South Africa may be turned once and for all and the hearts of its sons and daughters may beat in unison in this important part of the African continent.

In conclusion, I am particularly pleased to note the interest which the Secretary-General of the United Nations always takes in the South African question, and the leading role which is constantly played by the Special Committee against Apartheid in the struggle to eradicate racism and racial discrimination in South Africa.

I therefore call on the international community to continue to provide full support to this cause, to which Africa in general, and Senegal in particular, are devoting all their energies. The OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa, over which I shall have the great honour to preside at Gaborone on 15 October 1992, also is a part of this process.

In the hope that this observance will crown our common efforts and mark the return of South Africa to the ranks of those States which cherish peace and justice and respect the principles of democracy and individual freedoms, I wish to reaffirm my full support for this noble and just cause.

TUNISIA

Message from Mr. Zine El Abdine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia

[Original: French]

As the international community observes the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, Tunisia, true to its principles and its commitment to the inalienable rights of people to freedom, dignity and equality, reaffirms its solidarity with the South African people in their struggle for the establishment of a democratic non-racial society.

Tunisia feels that the recent decision of the Government of South Africa to release some political prisoners is a positive step which should be

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encouraged. It urges the South African Government to continue its efforts in that direction and appeals to the international community to remain vigilant as regards the need to secure the release of all the political prisoners still detained in South Africa.

The release of those prisoners would be likely to have a beneficial effect on the process of negotiations which should lead to the total dismantling of apartheid and speed up the establishment in South Africa of a democratic, united and non-racial society based on respect for human rights and the principles of equality, justice and freedom for all. That is why Tunisia, which fervently appeals for the establishment of such a society, welcomes the announcement of the forthcoming resumption of negotiations between the parties concerned, negotiations which it hopes will rapidly lead to a solution that meets the aspirations of the South African people.

UGANDA

Message from the Government of the Republic of Uganda

[Original: English]

On the occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the people of Uganda wish to reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of all measures to end the apartheid system which led to their incarceration.

Uganda shared the optimism of other nations in welcoming the encouraging developments in South Africa which resulted in the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and other long-serving political prisoners. The years 1991 and 1992 heralded events which promised further dismantling of the pillars of apartheid and a move towards the establishment of a new democratic South Africa. The CODESA talks enthused the whole international community. Uganda had hoped the release of all political prisoners languishing in South African jails at this stage would enhance the process of the dismantling of apartheid.

We are, however, dismayed by recent developments in South Africa. Violence in the townships escalates day by day and the Government seems to be either unable or unwilling to curtail it. The negotiations for power-sharing between the Government and Black majority leaders are consequently suspended. Recent revelations of police brutality against Black prisoners which have led to deaths in South African jails have fuelled speculations on the integrity and sincerity of the White Government to end apartheid. How can there be genuine peace when the blood of Black South Africans continues to flow unrestrained?

Uganda will continue to support our brutalized brothers in South Africa until the total eradication of apartheid is achieved. The continued breakdown of law and order and the alleged South African Government's hand in this vindicates those in the United Nations who have been urging for continued

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economic sanctions against the South African regime. The Government of Uganda will continue to support these sanctions until there are fundamental and irreversible changes in South Africa.

Uganda's view is that conditions of unrest and violence will only create room for further incarceration of Blacks in South African jails. On this occasion of the observance of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, we wish to urge the White minority regime to create conditions for the early resumption of negotiations with Black leaders to establish a democratic South Africa.

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Message on behalf of the States members of the
European Community

[Original: English]

The European Community and its Member States welcome the opportunity provided by the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners to reiterate their commitment to the complete abolition by peaceful means of the unacceptable system of apartheid and its replacement by a democratic system in which all South Africans can participate in peace and harmony, regardless of colour or race.

The European Community and its member States have already welcomed on several occasions the significant progress made towards the complete and irreversible abolition of apartheid, though they are deeply concerned about the difficulties, particularly the violence, which remain.

They note that, following an agreement between the South African Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, a large number of refugees and political exiles have now returned to South Africa. They welcome the release of a considerable number of prisoners in South Africa during the last few weeks, and the announcement of further releases. They believe that these developments should have a beneficial effect on forthcoming negotiations.

Finally, on the occasion of this day of solidarity, the European Community and its member States wish to reiterate their hope that negotiations will soon lead to an agreement on the shape of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

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UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Message from Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the
United Republic of Tanzania

[Original: English]

On this International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the United Republic of Tanzania wishes to reaffirm its unflinching support to the people of South Africa in their continuing struggle for the total elimination of apartheid. In marking this important occasion, the Government and people of Tanzania view, with deep anguish, the escalating violence in South Africa and recall especially the Boipatong and Bisho massacres, in which more than 67 people were brutally murdered. These massacres are yet another reminder of the unabating violence which is inherent in South Africa's repressive apartheid system.

The current round of violence further underlines the need for the international community, not only to maintain existing pressures on the Government of President F. W. de Klerk, but also to closely monitor the explosive situation in that unhappy land. In this connection, Tanzania welcomes the measures taken under Security Council resolution 765 (1992), in particular the sending of United Nations observers to monitor violence with a view to assisting in the efforts to end the violence and to creating the atmosphere necessary for the resumption of the negotiating process for the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Tanzania welcomes the understanding recently reached between ANC President Nelson Mandela and President F. W. de Klerk enabling the resumption of the negotiating process. As we observe the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, we welcome especially the agreement reached on the release of political prisoners. We regret that the agreement still leaves many political prisoners incarcerated, and demand their immediate and unconditional release. We urge the international community to continue to exert pressure on Pretoria until the last political prisoner has been released and apartheid has been eliminated. The Government and people of Tanzania pledge their continuing support for these efforts.

Finally, I would like, on my behalf and on behalf of the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania, to express to the Special Committee against Apartheid, and especially to you its Chairman, our sincere appreciation of the Committee's work for all South Africans. On this special day, we recall especially its work for all South African political prisoners.

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VENEZUELA

Message from Mr. Fernando Ochoa Antich, Minister for
Foreign Affairs of Venezuela

[Original: Spanish]

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, the Government of Venezuela wishes to reaffirm its support for the struggle of the South African people for the establishment of a free, multiracial and democratic society and for the full enjoyment of human rights - civil, political, economic, social and cultural - by the entire population of South Africa. The Government of Venezuela would also like to reiterate its vigorous condemnation of the apartheid regime and pay homage today to all political prisoners and to all those who have dedicated their lives to the struggle for the abolition of that system.

The Government of Venezuela notes with interest the recent agreements between President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress, regarding the resumption of negotiations. Nevertheless, the interest of the South African people requires that all parties should be involved in this political process. In that connection, we hope that the new round of talks will lead to a definitive agreement within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) which would mean the birth of a genuinely united, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa. The international community should remain vigilant and maintain the sanctions until the system of apartheid has effectively disappeared.

The Government of Venezuela is convinced that the total elimination of the apartheid regime, the granting of equal rights to the South African population and the establishment of a democratic system, free of racial discrimination, will effectively contribute to peace and security in the region.



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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE CONSULTATIONS WITH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS
AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, HELD AT GENEVA, ON
30 NOVEMBER AND 1 DECEMBER 1992

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INTRODUCTION

1. In paragraph 3 of its resolution 46/79 B of 13 December 1991, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid, in accordance with its mandate as the focal point for the international campaign against apartheid, to continue mobilizing international action through, inter alia, liaison and consultations with Governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and relevant groups and individuals, in support of the political process towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

2. In accordance with that provision, the Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1992 the holding of consultations at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December 1992 with anti-apartheid movements and NGOs.

3. Its objectives, expressed in the agenda of the consultations, were as follows:

(a) Review of developments in South Africa since November 1991 and assessment of progress towards the establishment of a transitional government and an elected constituent assembly;

(b) Activities and plans of the Special Committee and work of the Centre against Apartheid in the light of developments in South Africa and in view of the resolutions adopted (or to be adopted) at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly;

(c) The role of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs in promoting peace and democracy in South Africa, such as:

- (i) Creating conditions for free political activity, including action to end political violence;
- (ii) Promoting "free and fair" elections; and
- (iii) Maintaining international pressure, including sanctions;

(d) Future role of the anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, such as:

- (i) Assisting in solving socio-economic problems during the transitional period and beyond;
- (ii) Supporting the establishment of a culture of human rights in South Africa; and
- (iii) Supporting the development of a society of tolerance.

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I. AGENDA AND PROCEDURES

4. The consultations were opened on 30 November 1992 by Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (for his statement, see annex I to the present report). Other speakers at the opening meeting were Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director of the Centre against Apartheid (see annex II to the present report). The opening meeting was also addressed by Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and by Mr. Aziz Pahad, member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

5. Following the opening meeting, the participants agreed, after consultations on the officials of the meeting (see annex III to the present report). Thereafter, the consultations continued in three consecutive workshops and a closing meeting.

II. PARTICIPANTS

6. The Special Committee against Apartheid was represented by its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria) and Mr. Kheireddine Ramoul (Algeria). In addition, representatives of States members of the Special Committee accredited to the United Nations Office at Geneva took part in the opening meeting.

7. Representatives of ANC and PAC, as well as two special guests from South Africa, also attended. Moreover, representatives of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs took part in the consultations. The list of participants is provided in annex V to the present report.

III. DOCUMENTATION

8. The Centre against Apartheid provided a number of documents for the consultations, primary among these were the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session (A/47/22) and the third progress report of the Secretary-General (A/47/574) on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Representatives also submitted some background documents (see annex VI to the present report).

IV. SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

9. The participants reviewed recent political developments in South Africa and international response to them, as well as the role of their respective organizations, after hearing a detailed analysis of the situation inside South Africa from the leaders of the delegations of PAC and ANC respectively. The key conclusions arrived at after the exhaustive discussion focused on the role

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of anti-apartheid movements, NGOs and international organizations in continuing information campaigns, promotion of a climate of free political activity, promotion of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, support for the national liberation movements, the role of sanctions and assistance to front-line States and States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

10. Although there were varied opinions on modalities of attaining a non-racial and democratic South Africa, the participants were unanimous in their view that the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa remained the basis for the attainment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Similarly, there was consensus that the South African Government had primary responsibility to maintain law and order. The Government's failure to fulfil that statutory obligation, the participants believed, meant that it was primarily responsible for the delays in the march towards a democratic and non-racial South Africa, and more so for the political violence in that country. Some participants discussed the contention that an understanding between the leadership of ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would bring about the end to violence. They were of the view that that violence emanated from apartheid State structures and complicity of the security agencies. References were made to the recent findings of the Goldstone Commission implicating the Military Intelligence in orchestrating political violence.

11. While discussing the modalities of bringing violence to an end, the participants welcomed and commended the deployment of United Nations and other international observers in South Africa. Most participants were, however, of the view that in spite of their positive contributions, the role of the observers was still limited. Participants thus called for the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa to be expanded and the number of observers increased in order to make them more effective.

12. The participants called upon the international community to continue exerting maximum pressure on the South African Government, through the maintenance of existing sanctions and other measures. They urged the democratic forces in South Africa to unite and, specifically, called on ANC and PAC to resume their cooperation under the auspices of the Patriotic United Front. The participants were of the view that although the international community had a role to play in South Africa, it was up to the South Africans themselves to determine what form of constitutional and other political arrangements they wanted for their country. Nevertheless, the participants rededicated themselves to the anti-apartheid campaign.

13. After exhaustively reviewing recent political developments in South Africa, the response of the international community to them, as well as the role of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, the participants adopted by acclamation a proposal for action and a declaration (see sect. V of the present report).

V. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION AND DECLARATION

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Information campaigns

The participants recognized that there was a continuing need to ensure that public opinion understood that apartheid was not "dead". In order to achieve this, it was agreed:

(a) To organize educational and information campaigns which, whilst acknowledging the changes which have taken place, demonstrate that South Africa is still an apartheid State, and that "grand apartheid" in the form of bantustans continues as do numerous apartheid laws;

(b) To inform the public that the most fundamental element of apartheid, the denial of political rights to the Black majority, continues and that the majority of South Africans still have no right to vote in the country of their birth;

(c) To educate public opinion as to the massive deprivation which exists in South Africa as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid;

(d) To have concerted information campaigns to expose the true nature and sources of violence.

Promotion of a climate of free political activity

The participants recognized the threat posed to the democratic transformation of South Africa by the violence and political repression and agreed on the need to expose all such threats, to exert pressure on Governments and intergovernmental organizations to take effective action and, in particular, to campaign:

(a) For the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners;

(b) For free political activity in all bantustans, especially Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu;

(c) To expose and help put an end to the activities of the "dirty tricks" squads, mercenaries and other elements within the security forces, including the KwaZulu police, which are instigating and fomenting violence;

(d) To press for the rapid implementation of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report of 7 August 1992 as well as the agreements reached with the regime to end the violence, including the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and action in relation to the hostels;

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(e) To ensure that the United Nations observer team and other teams from the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community (EC) have sufficient resources, including large enough numbers, and the necessary mandate to make an effective contribution towards ending the violence; and that the Secretary-General appoints an eminent person to be in charge of the United Nations observer team;

(f) To publicize any violations of the National Peace Accord and to ensure that it is implemented in letter and spirit especially in relation to impartiality of the police and security forces;

(g) To call for an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to look at the weaknesses of the Accord in order to take measures to strengthen it;

(h) For the complete dissolution of all covert and clandestine police and security force structures; these forces should be confined to their barracks under the supervision of the international community;

(i) For the cessation of all political trials and repeal of remaining repressive legislation;

(j) To end all restrictions on the right to demonstrate and to organize political activities.

Promotion of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa

The participants agreed upon the need for sustained campaigning to ensure a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the fundamental principles set out in the United Nations Declaration, in particular one person one vote on a single common non-racial electoral roll. This must involve in particular the immediate replacement of the apartheid regime by an interim government of national unity and transitional authority to rule South Africa during the period of transition and the establishment of an elected constituent assembly to draw up and adopt a non-racial and democratic Constitution based on the fundamental principles set out in the United Nations Declaration.

It was recognized that anti-apartheid movements and NGOs should campaign:

(a) To ensure the immediate replacement of the apartheid regime with an interim government of national unity and for the rapid holding of democratic one person one vote elections for a constituent assembly which would draw up and adopt a new non-racial and democratic Constitution for South Africa;

(b) To expose the continuing existence of "grand apartheid" in the form of bantustans and to ensure their immediate re-incorporation into a united non-fragmented South Africa;

(c) To expose the fraudulent and anti-democratic constitutional proposals of the Nationalist Party and its intention to maintain a "White veto" through so-called power-sharing and what purports to be a "federal" solution;

(d) To campaign to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly are "free and fair", which will require an end to the regime's monopoly over State broadcasting, effective programmes for voters' education, and the right of all political organizations to campaign freely throughout the entire country, including bantustans and "White" farming areas, easy access for all to the polling booths, as well as the active participation of the United Nations and the international community as a whole;

(e) To campaign for an immediate commencement of voters' registration on a common voters' roll.

Support for the national liberation movements

The participants recognized that until there was a genuine transfer of power from the White minority regime to the people as a whole, it was essential that maximum support be provided by the international community to the national liberation movements and all those struggling to secure the democratic transformation of South Africa. In particular, it was agreed to campaign:

(a) To mobilize support for popular campaigns being organized to promote peace and democracy in South Africa and to prevent the apartheid regime from unilaterally restructuring the economy in order to perpetuate White privilege and Black impoverishment in a new form;

(b) To mobilize political and material support for the national liberation movements to enable the majority of South Africans to prepare for elections;

(c) To inform the public about and raise funds for the needs of returning exiles and the rehabilitation of released political prisoners, internally displaced people and support for voters' education campaign;

(d) To ensure that Member States honour their obligations under the United Nations Declaration to provide "all-round support to the opponents of apartheid", including ongoing assistance to organizations which have played and are playing a key role in the process of change in South Africa, such as the non-racial trade unions, religious organizations, human rights bodies and the democratic media;

(e) To support initiatives which are endorsed by the national liberation movements designed to prepare for a "post-apartheid" South Africa such as human resources development and other programmes seeking to overcome the consequences of apartheid, such as the provision of low-cost housing, primary health care and non-racial educational services;

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(f) To publicize the violence, and to request the Special Committee to publish a special document with comprehensive factual information about the methods and techniques used by the South African regime and its various armed, covert and other units as well as other State-linked formations to destabilize and undermine the liberation movements. This document should consist primarily of a special report on the subject to be prepared by ANC and PAC respectively.

Role of sanctions

The participants recognize the major role played by sanctions in compelling the apartheid regime to accept the need for a negotiated political settlement and that sanctions have an essential role to play to ensure that there was a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Taking into account the positions expressed by the national liberation movements and the decisions of the General Assembly it was agreed:

(a) To campaign for the maintenance of economic sanctions and boycotts in order to secure the rapid replacement of the apartheid regime by an interim government of national unity and an elected constituent assembly;

(b) To continue to press banks and other financial institutions including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to maintain financial sanctions and to campaign to prevent any further bond issues and other bank loans, credit facilities and new capital inflows to South Africa;

(c) To campaign for the maintenance of all sanctions and other restrictions in the nuclear field, including imports of South African uranium, until a democratic government is in power in South Africa;

(d) To promote the strict implementation of the arms embargo and all associated military sanctions, including the embargo on the export and import of arms, until a democratic government is in power in South Africa;

(e) To campaign for the strict adherence to the oil embargo;

(f) To campaign to ensure that "people to people" contact with South Africa in no way results in the strengthening of apartheid institutions and to maintain effective boycott actions against organizations which continue to practise apartheid in the educational, cultural and sporting fields;

(g) To put pressure on Governments to provide adequate resources for the Centre against Apartheid and the Special Committee against Apartheid, as well as international NGOs, enabling them to continue the monitoring of all sanctions;

(h) To protest the recent violations of the arms embargo, especially the sale of Swiss Pilatus PC-7 trainers and Russian Mig-29 fighter planes to the South African Air Force;

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(i) To urge the German authorities not to permit the export of MTU engines or parts for the naval vessels of the South African Navy;

(j) To request the Special Committee, as a priority, to issue a special comprehensive statement to highlight South Africa's unilateral measures to restructure the defence force and the armaments industry; the ARMSCOR campaign to export arms and related material; the need to fully investigate South Africa's nuclear and chemical weapon capability and to emphasize the need to demobilize and destroy these weapons and their production utilities under adequate and effective international supervision and control.

Front-line States and Southern African Development Coordination Conference

The participants recognized that the front-line States and the SADC continue to require all possible assistance to overcome the consequences of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilization. They welcomed in particular the initiatives of the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at creating conditions of peace and reconciliation. They agreed in particular:

(a) To campaign to defend peace and democracy in Angola and to stop all South African support for UNITA (National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola) and for UNITA's international isolation until it abides by the Bicesse Peace Accords;

(b) To campaign, taking into account the agreement reached for interim arrangements between the Government of Namibia and the South African regime, for the rapid reincorporation of Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands into Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978;

(c) To ensure that Member States honour their obligations under the United Nations Declaration "to render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them to: rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South African acts of aggression and destabilization".

DECLARATION

1. We, the participants in the anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations' consultations organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December 1992, having considered all political developments in South Africa since November 1991, among other things, and to wit, international response to them, are strongly convinced that apartheid is not yet dead.

2. We remain convinced that the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989, remains the valid framework for the attainment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa and therefore urge the full

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implementation of its provisions, in particular, the commitment that "we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens".

3. Whilst we welcome the limited but important progress that has been made since December 1989, the political process in South Africa is now becoming protracted, negotiations have been stalled and there is an increase in political violence emanating from State structures.

4. We firmly hold the South African Government primarily responsible for the delay and for being the main obstacle towards a democratic solution and the attainment of a genuine non-racial democracy.

5. We reiterate the prevailing international consensus that:

- Political transition in South Africa must be swift;
- The quick election of a constituent assembly is imperative to a successful transition;
- The election of the constituent assembly must be followed by the immediate emplacement of a transitional administration;
- There is need to urgently address the escalating, State-sponsored violence and guarantee free political activity in order to have free and fair elections;
- The South African Government cannot be a player and a referee. To ensure free and fair elections, it is necessary to establish a transitional administration, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission.

6. We commend the Security Council's recent deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa and the dispatching of Observers from the Commonwealth, EC and OAU.

7. We strongly urge that the mandate and the role of United Nations and other intergovernmental observers be expanded and their number increased, in order for them to play an active role to end violence and accelerate the democratization process.

8. We call upon the international community to exercise maximum pressure on the South African Government and to encourage all other appropriate parties in order to sustain and support the momentum of the vulnerable and critical political process still under way in South Africa.

9. We urge the Special Committee against Apartheid to continue to mobilize the international community and ensure that the objectives of the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa are fulfilled.

10. We reaffirm that it is for all South Africans to determine what form of constitutional and other political arrangements they want for their country.

11. We remain mindful of our role to fully implement the goals and objectives we have set for ourselves in the next calendar year, taking into consideration the critical situation in South Africa, the above-stated demands, and more importantly, the need to bring about a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

12. We rededicate ourselves to the anti-apartheid campaign and remain relentless in our collective effort to eradicate apartheid from South Africa and to support the creation in its place of a united, non-racial and democratic nation.

Annex I

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

This consultative meeting is being convened at a most opportune time as political events in South Africa continue to unfold, calling for coordinated, consistent and effective responses from the international community.

A number of events in the recent past have given the international community reason for cautious optimism, such as the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991, the convening of the first plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) and the result of the all-White referendum last March. It was felt that the political process had acquired sufficient momentum to enable the parties concerned to agree on a new constitutional order and forge ahead towards a new democratic South Africa. That brief euphoria gave way to discouragement and despair after the deadlock of the second plenary session of CODESA (CODESA II) in May and the upsurge in political violence, notably the killings in Boipatong, Bisho, Folwani and other townships. Meanwhile, the South African economy has sunk into a deeper recession with continued high unemployment. The gross domestic product took a steep drop in the third quarter of 1992 which might yet reflect its deepest decline in eight years. The drought, capital flight and drop in consumer confidence were given as primary reasons for this decline.

At the General Assembly debate on South Africa two weeks ago, where about 60 Member States spoke on vital issues, the mood was resolute in continuing the application of appropriate measures to pressure the South African authorities to move forward with a negotiated settlement with democratic forces in South Africa as well as to put an end to the violence which has been seen to jeopardize any probable success of the political process. The debate also addressed the Government's undeniable responsibility to deal with the socio-economic inequalities that are deeply entrenched in South African society and the need for the international community to assist South Africans in overcoming the legacies of apartheid.

During the past difficult months, it was to the credit of the United Nations, other intergovernmental organizations and anti-apartheid organizations, such as yours, to have spared neither time nor effort to help keep the issue of apartheid on the front burner of world politics and to keep the precarious political process from being derailed.

The Security Council, which convened at the request of OAU, provided a forum for Member States as well as political organizations from inside South Africa to put forth their positions on the spiralling violence and the need to adopt urgent measures to curb it. The Council called upon all parties to cooperate in bringing the violence to a halt and to abide by the National Peace Accord.

The timely dispatch of the Secretary-General's Special Representative as well as United Nations observers has been welcomed by the international community. Their presence was viewed as a deterrent to violence and as having a stabilizing effect on the present volatile situation. Observers from the OAU, EC and the Commonwealth have since joined the United Nations to help reinforce the much-needed international presence. Some Member States, at the General Assembly debate, even called for an increase in the number of observers and the broadening of their mandate. Some specifically urged the Secretary-General to appoint an "eminent person" to deal on a full-time basis with the South African conflict as he has done with other conflicts. Such a gesture, it was felt, would go a long way towards enabling the United Nations to play an essential catalytic and mediatory role.

The release of 42 political prisoners on 15 November, following the earlier release of some 150 prisoners in late September, greatly contributes to an atmosphere of goodwill and provides a healing effect to a weary and pained country. However, reports of continued ill-treatment of remaining political prisoners, high number of deaths while in police custody and the delay of South African authorities in investigating and addressing these reports as well as the recent revelations by the Goldstone Commission of the involvement of the South African Military Intelligence in covert illegal activities aimed at destabilizing the ANC, in particular, reinforces the mistrust of the police and security forces by the majority of South Africans. It is most urgent and necessary that the police and defence forces in South Africa be reminded of their duties to protect the life, security and dignity of all South Africans. The remaining of security forces is an essential requirement for the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

The international community continues to support the two-pronged approach of pressure and assistance. The lifting of the oil ban or the mandatory arms embargo is still considered premature and counterproductive. The same applies to the ban on new investment, finance and trade. Assistance to disadvantaged South Africans is being given prominence on the agenda, especially in the humanitarian field and in human resource development.

The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa continues to make inroads in the fields of education, training and human resources development in South Africa. Under the able leadership of Ambassador Huslid of Norway, the Programme is geared to open up training and education opportunities until recently not available to a majority of students, to meet current manpower needs and to assist returning exiles. The Programme is increasingly focused on training inside South Africa.

The Record of Understanding of 26 September between the South African authorities and the ANC as well as ongoing bilateral talks also with and between other parties give us renewed hope for early elections. As the historic consensus Declaration on Apartheid states, apartheid will have been eradicated only when a new, non-racial Constitution has been adopted and a new Government has been elected as a result of free and fair elections. The immediate task ahead of reaching agreement on a broad negotiating forum and on

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the modalities regarding transitional arrangements are the responsibility of the political parties concerned. It is incumbent on these political parties to draw on their wisdom and foresight, to transcend their contingent differences, and to focus on a common platform and arrangements that should enable all South Africans to live side by side in peace, freedom and justice and to work together to build the bright future which should be theirs.

In underlying this responsibility they will need the continued support of the international community, of the anti-apartheid movements and the NGOs community.

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Annex II

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE AGAINST APARTHEID

At the outset, allow me to express my thanks to you, members of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, whose commitment through the years to the campaign to free South Africa from the aberration of apartheid, has helped immensely in keeping the spirit of the struggle alive when the voice of a majority of South Africans was not allowed to be heard.

The perception that apartheid is in its death throws has prompted a number of Governments to reconsider their policies on South Africa. The international isolation of South Africa has weakened considerably and gates have opened, especially in the fields of diplomacy and trade. The General Assembly, taking into consideration progress made in overcoming obstacles to negotiations, called upon the international community "to resume academic, scientific and cultural links with democratic anti-apartheid organizations in these fields; to resume sports links with unified non-racial sporting organizations of South Africa which have received endorsement by appropriate non-racial sporting organizations within South Africa and to assist disadvantaged athletes in that country". While cultural and sports contacts with South Africa have proliferated in the past year, we continue to receive reports on the continued lack of assistance to many non-White athletes in South Africa and local organizations of which they are members to develop the basic facilities and training opportunities they need to compete on equal terms.

The role that the anti-apartheid movements and NGOs around the world have played cannot be overemphasized. The majority of South Africans, so long deprived of a voice, now speak loud and clear, and they are heard both inside South Africa and outside. But they still do not have a vote - that is, and remains, the bottom line. The support of the NGOs community is therefore still important. They continue to inform, motivate and organize at the grass-roots level in many countries. Anti-apartheid movements continue to call for the application of pressure on South Africa while pursuing their efforts to provide support for the anti-apartheid opposition and monitor the political situation in the country. The energy they have generated as well as their accomplishments have had a tremendous impact on the conscience of freedom-loving men and women and have had a decisive influence in policies of cities and governments. Their support remains vital also at this time, as the South African Government and the leaders of the democratic forces negotiate for a multiracial transitional Government and democratic elections and in the transition period ahead when their energy and commitment will be needed in the reconstruction of South Africa, changing from a reactive engagement to a pro-active involvement in the on-the-ground development of a new South Africa.

The Special Committee continues to enjoy strong cooperation with NGOs and the success of endeavours such as this and many others in the years of the campaign against apartheid, has depended on the collaboration with NGOs and anti-apartheid movements.

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The international community will continue to depend on and be grateful for their valuable contribution in pursuing the aspirations of the majority of South Africans for a new, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Annex III

LIST OF MODERATORS AND PANELISTS

OPENING SESSION AND

WORKSHOP 1 - Item 1

Moderator: Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid

Panelists: Mr. Aziz Pahad (ANC)
Mr. Gora Ebrahim (PAC)

WORKSHOP 2 - Items 2 and 3

Moderator: Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Belgium

Panelists: Mr. Mike Terry, British Anti-Apartheid Movement, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director, Centre against Apartheid

Mr. L. G. Kilgallen, Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Ireland

Mr. Vyatcheslav N. Tetekin, Movement for Cooperation and Solidarity with Peoples of Asia and Africa

Ms. Pelle Knutsson, Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAK), Sweden

Mr. Fons Geerlings, Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland, Netherlands

WORKSHOP 3 - Item 4

Moderator: Mr. Abdul Minty, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa

Panelists: Mr. Andre Schott, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Ms. Manuela Cunha, Movimento Portugues contra o Apartheid, Portugal

Mr. David Craine, End Loans to South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Ms. Eva Militz, Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, Germany

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Annex IV

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

We have in the last 48 hours availed ourselves of the opportunity to brainstorm and exchange ideas on our respective and collective contributions towards international efforts to end apartheid.

Beyond the opportunity to once again evaluate the activities of the anti-apartheid movement and other NGOs in the last year and define appropriate modalities for your work in the coming months, the consultations also analysed and discussed some emerging policies and trends that are discernable within the international community. We also examined the notion in some quarters that apartheid is dead.

Certainly, apartheid is not dead, and if anyone ought to know, it is those here who come from South Africa. But it is also quite clear to others who follow the issue closely and on a daily basis. It is gratifying that we had with us during these consultations, senior representatives of the ANC and PAC from inside the country. Their first-hand account of the state of political play in their country has more than convinced us that we are on the right track and must remain resolute in our efforts.

While it is true that there have been some remarkable changes in South Africa since December 1989 when the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid was adopted, we cannot overlook certain realities. It is equally true that from February 1990, the De Klerk administration showed some signs of seriously wanting to end apartheid. The initial impetus of the political developments from those days seem to have run out of steam. The provisions of the United Nations Declaration are yet to be fully implemented, not least the aspect that calls for free political activities in an atmosphere free of violence.

Indeed, the South African military authorities have been shown by the Goldstone Commission to continue to employ various forms of political dirty tricks to undermine major political forces and to fan political violence to ensure that the political negotiations do not proceed smoothly and swiftly.

Unfortunately, several countries have allowed themselves to be lulled into the false belief that the De Klerk regime is unambiguously committed to the unconditional transfer of power to the people of South Africa through a constitutional process based on universal adult suffrage.

We note efforts by some to end sanctions and measures against South Africa rather prematurely. They have been hesitant to do so sooner, because they are haunted by the prospects of the challenges by anti-apartheid movements and NGOs in their countries. You must therefore keep faith, that even in these times of rapid changes, in a time when it has become fashionable to do business with South Africa, you still have a redeeming role to play.

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It perhaps needs to be recalled, that the Security Council last considered the question of South Africa in 1988, before its recent consideration of the question of violence in that country just a few months back. It was not that the Council was oblivious to the political crisis in South Africa, but at that time some of its permanent members elected to see things very differently from us. And others allowed their financial benefit from apartheid policies to blind them to reality. But we did keep the issues alive. And we must resolve to continue to do so until apartheid is eradicated and there is a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In this very respect, we must remain vigilant. Beside the proposal for action that has been mapped out here and the declaration adopted at this meeting, we must monitor closely any moves to readmit South Africa prematurely into key international bodies. We are witnesses to their professed show of good faith in the sports field. True, South Africa has rejoined the Olympic family, but are all sports in South Africa opened to those once barred from them? The answer is no.

During the just concluded debate on apartheid by the General Assembly, a lone voice rose to espouse the view that it is time to allow South Africa to rejoin the General Assembly. It will not be long before this view, expressed by one insensitive delegation, may become a refrain in the General Assembly. We have an obligation to remind them that we are not opposed to South Africa's readmission, but that to earn its rightful place in the United Nations, South Africa must comply with the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and other accepted international norms on human rights and democracy.

I do not need to emphasize the necessity for your organizations to remain attuned to their traditional areas of focus; loans boycott, arms embargo, oil embargo and other boycotts that have compelled South Africa to make some changes in its policies. But, along with those concerns, we must of necessity pay closer attention to the very issues that formed the basis of our discussion during these consultations, issues such as creating conditions for free political activity and actions to end violence and addressing the socio-economic problems that presently bedevil South Africa's economy and consequently, the majority of its population.

Finally, we know that apartheid is a belief system of intolerance, just like political violence is an attribute of intolerance. We must continue therefore to strive in all ways possible to assist South Africans to create a culture of human rights and support their efforts to develop a society of tolerance.

No time in the struggle against apartheid is perhaps more critical for South Africans than now. Let us therefore return to our respective bases, more resolved and more committed than ever before to continue our campaign against apartheid.

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I have taken due note of your call on the Special Committee to be pro-active in mobilizing the international community to ensure that the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid is fully implemented. I wish to assure you that we in the Special Committee will continue to do our utmost, and will continue to count on your unwavering support for our work.

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Annex V

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria)
Mr. Kheireddine Ramoul (Algeria)

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Mr. Fernando Quiros Campos (Peru)
Mr. A. Garcia Revilla (Peru)
Ms. Delia Menez Rosal (Philippines)
Mr. Sergui V. Reva (Ukraine)

National liberation movements

Mr. Aziz Pahad (ANC)
Mr. Tebogo Mafole (ANC)
Mr. Popo Molefe (ANC)
Mr. M. Msimang (ANC)
Mr. Sisa Ngombane (ANC)
Mr. Gora Ebrahim (PAC)
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Ms. Laura Carlodalatri, Associazione Italiana contro l'Apartheid e per un Sudafrica Democratico, Italy

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Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Belgium

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Mr. Dag Olausson, ISAK, Sweden

Mr. Siro Petruzella, Mouvement anti-apartheid suisse, Switzerland

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Ms. Martha Powers, The International Reports: Early Warning, United States of America

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Mr. Andre Schott, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

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Mr. Carl Olof Selenius, Africa Groups of Sweden, Sweden

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Mr. Pablo Vaals, Movimiento Anti-Apartheid Español, Spain

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United Nations

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Mr. B. Dia

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Mr. Oseloka Obaze, Political Affairs Officer

Ms. Clotilde Theus, Secretary

Ms. Beverly Jones, Secretary

Centre for Human Rights

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Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. S. Awuye

International Labour Organisation

Mr. A. Van Heerden

Dr. James Mutambirwa

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Annex VI

LIST OF DOCUMENTS AND BACKGROUND MATERIALS

United Nations documents

- A/47/22 Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
- A/47/45 Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports
- A/47/513 United Nations Educational and Training Programme for
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